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## ***An Overview of Catalan Sociolinguistics and Pragmatics (1989-1996)***

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# AN OVERVIEW OF CATALAN SOCIOLINGUISTICS AND PRAGMATICS

(1989-1996)<sup>1</sup>

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## 1. INTRODUCTION

The aim of this appraisal is to provide readers of the *Catalan Review* with access to data concerning both work already completed and work currently under way in the fields of Catalan sociolinguistics and pragmatics. Even though this is the Internet era, information of this kind is sometimes impossible to find; many specialized bibliographical networks or repertoires do not cover books and articles on Catalan or in Catalan, and even less cover the fields of sociolinguistics and pragmatics. We hope that this article will serve as an invitation to readers to evaluate for themselves the weak points and the strong points of a research field as heterogeneous as this one, and to initiate or coordinate their own research.

### 1.1. THEMATIC AND CHRONOLOGIC SCOPE

We are indebted to many sources of information, especially to the recent *state of the art* appraisals of Vallverdú (1991, 1994b), Strubell (1993), Boyer and Strubell (eds.) (1994), Montoya and Gimeno (1996) and Vila (1995). To keep up to date with novelties in linguistic and sociolinguistic planning, the Documentation Centre of the Institute of Catalan Sociolinguistics of the Directorate General for Linguistic Policy of the Generalitat de Catalunya is a vital source,<sup>2</sup> the *Noves SL*, worksheets, the twice-yearly selective bibliographies, the annual

<sup>1</sup> A first version of this text was presented orally by Emili Boix at the opening of the session devoted to Katalanische Sprachwissenschaft of the XXIII Romanistentag (Universität Potsdam, 27-30.IX.1993). A second version was published in *Treballs de Sociolingüística Catalana*. The authors would like to thank Gabriele Berkenbusch and Christine Bierbach for their kindness. We would also like to thank all the people who have provided information for this state of the art appraisal. We are indebted to them for their interest and cooperation. The study is part of the project "Variació i llenguatge" and received a research grant from the DGICYT (projecte PB90-0505) and from the CIRIT (CS93-1017).

<sup>2</sup> Material found in this centre is indicated in the bibliography thus: [in CDS].

archive of linguistic planning and the annual sociolinguistic bibliographies of Catalan. A selection of this bibliography in English is published in *The Year's Work in Modern Languages* (London: The Modern Humanities Research Association). As far as work on functional variety, pragmatics and discourse analysis is concerned, however, there is a notable lack of similar documentation centres – unfortunately, government centres pay far less attention to the subject.<sup>3</sup> The best known international bibliographic repertoires offer very few of the references that we provide here, even though in recent years they have covered publications in Catalan as well. Not surprisingly, many references are publications in the proceedings of meetings and congresses. For example, in recent years there have been three meetings of Catalan sociolinguists (1990, 1991, 1993) published in DGPL (ed.) (1991a, 1994, 1995), and a number of meetings of linguistic services ([4.1] Servei de Llengua Catalana (Universitat de Barcelona) (ed. 1990). To the proceedings of these meetings we should add those of a number of areas of the Second International Congress of the Catalan Language, the main theme of which was sociolinguistics (cf. Martí (ed.) (1989), Vallverdú (ed.) (1989), Reixach (ed. 1991), Moll (ed.) (1992) and Marí (ed.) 1992a) and of the Seminars on linguistic normalization held in Castelló in December 1992 ([4.1] Universitat Jaume I (ed.) 1994).<sup>4</sup> Among the collections, [4.1] Martí (ed.) (1991) compiles a series of contributions on the extension of the social use of the language and corpus planning (normativització), and [4.1] Marí (ed.) 1992c) on linguistic policies and the state of the language in the Catalan-speaking areas.

In order to give readers the widest possible overview, and at the risk of making omission (obviously, access to all data is not possible) we have decided to include the following, rather heterogeneous sources: a) doctoral theses and *tesines* (cf. Solà-Solé 1992, Pérez Saldanya (ed.) (1993) and Oliver (ed.) (1995) who cover the area until 1992: b) institutional research projects currently under way; and c) material that is unpublished but stored in centres open to the public for consultation. We have been fortunate in being able to use an exhaustive recent review of the sociolinguistics of German-speaking countries (Berkenbusch and Bierbach in press).

<sup>3</sup> Disciplines such as these, which touch on a range of different fields, run the risk of being excluded from "mainstream" ones. Proof of this kind of involuntary exclusion is the absence of sociolinguistic and pragmatic terminology in the volumes of linguistics and sociology in the first collection of specialist dictionaries in Catalan (Fundació Barcelona 1992a, b).

<sup>4</sup> We will refer to these sections in our presentations of bibliographical references (e.g. [4.1] Fishman 1991) or in our cross-references in the many areas in which two analytical perspectives overlap.

Intellectual curiosity has no bounds, but the abilities of the authors of this review and the time available to them are inevitably limited. This critical overview is to an extent a self-portrait, because the authors are also actors in the scenario that they attempt to reflect. For these reasons, and hoping (vainly, no doubt!) to avoid the lack of discipline so typical of fields such as sociolinguistics and pragmatics, this overview has thematic and chronological boundaries, which we will now go on to describe.

1) *Thematic scope.* We understand sociolinguistics to be the result of a combination of research orientations in which currents more related to the structure and use of language –pragmatics and discourse analysis, variationist sociolinguistics and language contact, for example– join currents closer to social structure –anthropology and ethnography of communication, sociology and language planning and the social psychology of language. On the basis of this conception and due also to our complete lack of interest in defending or imposing particular frontiers, we interpret the labels “sociolinguistics” and “pragmatics” fairly loosely. We will refer to the work of authors from Catalan-speaking areas and also to work concerning these areas. Although our conception of sociolinguistics and pragmatics is a wide one, we have left out a number of areas which we feel are removed from the fundamental areas of interrelation between social and linguistic aspects. For example, we will make no reference to language laws, which are highly evolved and dynamic in the Catalan-speaking countries (see the *Revista de Llengua i Dret* and the studies organized by CIEMEN, the headquarters of the *Mercator Centre* “Dret i Legislacions lingüístiques,”) nor to the areas of pragmatics that are closest to grammatical or semantic traditions or to the philosophy of language.

In addition, we will only mention texts from the area of the social history of the language that consider aspects that are central to the connection between language and society. We will ignore the considerable number of studies of the social history of the language (e. g. Solé Camardons 1991), such as the studies of the Castilianization of the País Valencià, above all in the area of Alacant (on this subject see, for example, Abad Merino 1994). Nor have we included exclusively pedagogical articles or studies –the experience of Catalanization, or above all discourse analysis studies– or local experiments in linguistic planning (reports, projects from centres of linguistic normalization and the technical network of linguistic normalization) (see the *Arxiu de Planificació Lingüística* 2, 1996). We have also left out (more justifiably) the vast array of publications that include secondary data,



which provide and disseminate information on the sociological situation of Catalan. There are also introductions for non-Catalans to the general situation of the Catalan language (Colominas 1992), Leprêtre (1992) and Marí 1993) and to Catalanistics (Bover 1993) and texts on sociolinguistics such as Ros and Strubell (eds.) (1984), Weber and Strubell (1991) and [4.1] Fishman (1991, cap. 10) for English-speaking readers, Puig (1992) for French-speaking readers, and Bierbach and Reixach (1987) for German-speaking readers. This spread of information is still necessary, because some well-known university textbooks on language contact (cf. Grosjean 1982, 285) ignore the very existence of Catalan. There is the danger, though, that studies such as those will not in fact reach their audience. Recently, for example, in the Spanish media certain topics of sociolinguistic interest such as school immersion or the situation of Spanish-speakers in Catalonia have been manipulated for political reasons (cf. [4.1] O'Donnell 1996a). Since the Partido Popular came to power in May 1996, the interest of the press in these topics has fallen off rapidly, even though they were considered headline news only months before. This exploitation is accompanied by a certain ambiguity in the agreements on linguistic policies, often characterized by double talk.<sup>5</sup>

Some distinctions are not easy to establish. Intralinguistic change, and interlinguistic change, for example, are subjects that are common to both sociolinguistics and to the history of language (cf. Nadal 1992).

<sup>5</sup> In the controversy on the linguistic conflict in Catalonia these agreement seem to be easily understood by the *conoscenti* but totally confusing to the rest of us. To take one example: the support of the moderate centre-right nationalist Catalan coalition for the investiture of the Partido Popular to form Spanish government in May 1996 seems to be based on an unwritten truce in the area of linguistic policy: "Is the pact what the document says? At the moment there is a path that invites us to look in the direction of un-written agreements. In the pact there is not one word about the linguistic question, but *Convergència* assures us that in greatest conquest, the only one that can be considered as consolidated at the moment, is that the PP has abandoned all its attempts to stir up the linguistic conflict. It doesn't actually say this anywhere. Are they trying not to hurt certain people's feelings?" (J. Martí and J. Ramoneda, *La Vanguardia* 3-V-96)

The Centre of Documentation at the ISC of the Directorate General of Linguistic Policy of the Generalitat de Catalunya prepares press releases about this kind of verbal froth (see the twice-yearly *Crònica del català*). We recommend readers to consult the analyses of these debates. From a sociological and political viewpoint, Cardús (1995) analyzed the representation and selection made by Catalan newspaper of the debate concerning the "Manifesto of citizens whose first language is Spanish" at the beginning of the eighties. Burgert ([4.6] 1995), following Mangueneau's discursive analysis, studied another manifesto which appeared a decade later. Aina Moll's comments on the sociological evolution of Majorca (Moll, A et al. 1991-1995) reached a wider readership. Recently, one of the authors of this collection noted the interest to discourse analysis of all this *conflict talk*, characteristic of the controversies concerning linguistic questions in Catalonia ([4.6] Payrató 1996).

Any historical reference becomes, or can become, an arm with which to legitimize contemporary linguistic ideologies (cf. Burke and Porter (eds.) (1987, 1-20) and Marfany (1995) for a debate between historians with a substantial sociolinguistic component, and [4.1] Esposito 1996).

2) *Chronological scope.* This review began to take shape in 1989, when there was already a sufficient stock of collections and *states of the art* reviews on Catalan sociolinguistics. For the period before 1980, readers should consult the well-known summaries by Vallverdú (1980) and Kremnitz (ed.) (1979). More recently, Grossmann's article in the *Lexicon der Romanistischen Linguistik* (1991; cf. also Grossmann (coord.) 1992) examines relevant studies until approximately 1989, and saves us the task of looking further back. Also slightly before 1989 one of the first introductions to sociolinguistics appeared (Miguel and Moyer 1988), as well as a work that can be considered as the first *reader* in sociolinguistics written in Catalan (Bastardas and Soler (eds.) 1988). 1989 also saw the publication of one of the most comprehensive reports of cultural and sociolinguistic evolution in the post-Franco period (Cardús 1989).

## 1. 2. FROM THE SOCIOLINGUISTICS OF CONFLICT TO THE DIVERSITY OF SOCIOLINGUISTIC APPROACHES

Kremnitz (in the introduction to his 1979 German reader) and Vallverdú (in his 1980 compilation) both state that until the beginning of the eighties Catalan sociolinguistic was originally the sociology of the language. Catalan sociolinguistics has evolved in line with the fortunes of the social use of the language, and was (and to a large extent still is) fundamentally connotative, committed and militant.

The urgency of the problems created by the linguistic conflict, above all in the years of political transition in Spain (1975-1980) and the militancy of the part of the population meant (or at least led us to believe) that the proposals and ideas of the Catalan sociolinguists had an immediate social influence, and that these ideas were stimulated or generated by deeply felt social needs. From the moment of its birth, then, it was highly politicized, at a time when the political situation in Spanish politics was as yet undefined after the end of the dictatorship. From the very beginning, Catalan sociolinguistics dealt with the relations between power and social linguistic uses – unlike sociolinguistics in the US, generally more technical or technocratic. The paradigm was “native” sociolinguistics, in which “the surgeon was at the same time the patient, [...] theory and practice were closely

linked" (Calvet 1996, 20). The Congress of Catalan Culture (1976-1977) and, to a lesser extent, the II International Congress of the Catalan Language in 1986, were as much performance as text. It is understandable, then, that this part of Catalan sociolinguistics was more combative than empirical (Argente 1990). It is also understandable that this sociolinguistics should have "fascinated" researchers interested in fields that were not exclusively academic (and by extension sterile), and that these same researchers should have distanced themselves slightly after the introduction of an institutional linguistic policy by the autonomous government in some of the Catalan-speaking countries (cf. Berkenbusch and Bierbach, in press and G. Berkenbusch, in press). Social mobilization and frenzy and the proposals of the Catalan sociolinguists seemed to go hand in hand. One could hypothesize and meditate about the future, but neither the resources nor the organization were available for compiling data concerning the current situation. Even today, in Occitan, Basque and Galician circles in which it has a considerable influence, and in sociolinguistic publications for a more general audience, this combative position is still the vision that is held of Catalan sociolinguistics. It is understandable as well that some linguists should have avoided dealing with the Catalan situation, because "[it is] too close to many people's personal feelings and political passions to make discussions free of emotional overtones possible. Also, the problem is more likely to be attractive to sociologists and political ideologists than to linguists" (Lavandera 1981, 174).

1) *Diversification*. Since this initial politicization, much has changed in the country, and in the realm of Catalan sociolinguistics as well. The language is no longer a reference point on which there is a clear consensus, as there is no longer a single opponent like the dictatorship. In addition, specific measures have been taken and implemented, in contrast to the general statements of principle of earlier years. The language is no longer the symbol of cultural renewal for those who adopt more acquiescent positions.<sup>6</sup> Others hold more radical stances, holding that political sovereignty is necessary for any linguistic policy (cf. Murgades 1995, [4.1]1996 b, 1996c).<sup>7</sup>

Between 1989 and 1995 (including some references dating from 1988 and from early 1996) research projects, publications and interests have

<sup>6</sup> For example, the declarations of the historian Borja de Riquer (*Avui*, 16-XI-95): "the linguistic question was a decisive element firstly during the times of anti-Franco resistance, and later during the transition. If we analyze the great central debates of the transition, the nucleus was the language, and it was logical that it should be so. I would say that at this moment the language is fairly normalized."



diversified, as we will attempt to show below. In general, the theoretical and academic horizons of Catalan sociolinguistics and pragmatics have broadened, a development that we consider to be positive, as it favours the possibilities for intellectual synergy and creativity. The birth of sociolinguistics was interdisciplinary. This beginning, the result of a certain social complicity during the political transition, legitimized curiosity and exchange beyond the limits of one particular speciality, and stimulated the "sociolinguistic imagination." This basic starting point can be built on if the process receives axiological and epistemological supervision, and if a consistent program of continuing education is organized in sociolinguistics. This "sociological imagination" does not receive sufficient stimulation, nor is it sufficiently exploited. Sociolinguistic data can be observed in the fragmented linguistic community, but these data are not systematically compiled, nor are there ideas for their interpretation: "Like any other area of research, sociolinguistics must coordinate empirical exploration with theoretical construction. Its initial difficulty is not the "lack" of data – quite the opposite: the scandal, in fact, is that there is a surfeit of data, because there is a total absence of the essential ideas needed to exploit them in some way. The first obstacle is obscurity itself: the confusions that camouflage the intellectual void" (Aracil 1986, 448).

In our view, there are three factors that limit the dynamism and the quality of Catalan sociolinguistics: the lack of organization, the lack of resources and –a more ambivalent factor– institutional pressure to Catalanize from the Catalan regional subpower.

(a) *Organization.*: At the first meeting that offered a joint analysis of the perspectives of sociolinguistic research (above all in linguistic planning), Bañeres and Leprêtre (1991, 65-66) examined the question of the ideal division of labour:

<sup>7</sup> This position is exemplified by the leader in the journal *Els Marges* (1994, 51, 4): "People in Catalonia are wrong to implore the State to indulge in bullying –linguistic bullying as well; so are those who believe –in their innocence– nor those who say they believe –calculingly– that the full normalization of the Catalan language is possible without a considerable reduction in the hegemony that Spanish has exercised (and still exerts) inside the historical territory of Catalan by force of arms or by force of the market [...] Those who falsely or pusillanimously believe that in a situation of extreme linguistic conflict such as the one that this country experiences, one can serve both God and the devil at the same time, praising the supposed creativity of literary bilingualism, appearing as an untouchable one day and an academic the next, vainly trying to comply with those who defend an unalienable desire to be and those who strive to paralyze everything that opposes an unfailingly annexionist and depredatory vocation."



"First, one group has to outline the state of the question, bringing together as large a body of data as possible [...] A second group, independent from the first, has to suggest ideas to solve the problem; aiming towards a juster society, it works on the material provided by the first sector, attempting to widen the fissures of the reality so that another one will emerge; nonetheless, it transforms nothing, but only produces proposals for transformation. A third group sieves through the ideas of the previous group and considers them on a logistical basis, and the transversal costs that they generate. Finally, a fourth group, the last one, has to materialize the orientations of the third group."

The authors added that these four stages correspond to sociolinguistics in the strict sense—to linguistic planning (proposals for action combining sociolinguistics and the law, social psychology, administration sciences, etc...), linguistic policy (the selection and prioritization of proposals for action) and, finally, to linguistic management and administrative techniques.<sup>8</sup> It goes without saying that this division of labour is not applied in the linguistic domain as a whole. It is not applied in public administrations either because they belong to very different political powers that do not communicate with each other, or because a particular autonomous community does not coordinate its own linguistic policy between its departments. For instance, linguistic policy in Catalonia depends far more on the Department of the Presidency (to which the Catalan Corporation of Radio and Television is associated) and the Department of Education than on the Department of Culture, which is responsible for the Generalitat's Directorate General of Linguistic Policy). University research follows a path of its own; it is relatively autonomous, and is highly diversified, both in terms of individual researchers and in terms of centres.

(b) *Resources.* the government offers few financial incentives. As in the Spanish university system as a whole, there are many researchers competing for funds which have not increased at the same rate as staff numbers.

(c) *The normalization process.* the normalization process has affected the situation in a number of ways. Though on the one hand it

<sup>8</sup> The authors finally note the risk that might be caused by the lack of this division of labour and the mutual control of research: "When a single person performs these four tasks, they become a kind of gratifying mental game, gratifying because he or she established the values, the guidelines for activities and the resources to fit the data—either optimistically or pessimistically. There is an almost insurmountable risk of confusing desires and realities, of introducing biases and hierarchizing them as one sees fit" (p. 66).

has represented an incentive as it has prioritized the question of the language in its research programs, on the other its aim is to persuade the population of the social need to use Catalan, and to ensure at all times that this use should increase, without signifying any breakdown of normal social coexistence (cf. [4.1] Argelaguet 1996). There is thus a high risk that potentially conflictive sociolinguistic situations may be excluded from the analysis –either omitted altogether, or concealed.

These three factors affect the two main sectors working in sociolinguistics and pragmatics: public administrations/government and the universities.

2) *Sociolinguistics at government level: ideologies and marketing.*

Since the end of the political transition, and as the democratic system has gradually taken root, the political commitment of a large part of the population has fallen. The creation of governments in the autonomous communities, and the involvement of different political parties has meant that their interventions in the realm of sociolinguistics have been fragmented and even at times divergent. Even though reasonable proposals have been put forward for egalitarian cultural coordination between the political powers of the different Catalan-speaking areas, they were not accepted, or not enforced (for a discussion of interterritorial relations, see Marí and Viladot (eds.) (1990) and Marí (ed.) (1992b).

By the beginning of the eighties sociolinguistics was no longer, exclusively, a militant discipline or a weapon. Institutions were set up in different autonomous governments, the most important being the Directorates-General of Linguistic Policy in the Generalitat de Catalunya and the Generalitat de Valencia. These bodies, to rather different degrees, have aided research into sociolinguistics and linguistic planning and have channelled projects in the fields in which they have the capacity (or the desire) to do so (cf. Boix (in press b) for a recent evaluation of both impacts and priorities in public-funded sociolinguistics in Catalonia). Public intervention in linguistic policy varies greatly. An illustration of this diversity is provided by the dates of publication of the eight volumes of the Second International Congress of the Catalan Language (1986): Marí (ed.) (1992a); Martí (ed.) (1989); Reixach (ed.) (1991); Moll (ed.) (1992) and Vallverdú (ed.) (1989). These reviews were published with the aid of different institutions, and in all cases long after the Congress itself, with the result the huge amount of work that researchers contributed has had little social impact. All too often the symbolic status of the language contrasts starkly with the importance that is actually attributed to it.

The resources invested in research into the status of the language

have been negligible in absolute terms –the investment in lexicographical and terminological research has been much greater– and *de més pes* in relation to the Catalan government's lack of autonomy in policy on research. In any case, the resources allocated to linguistic research are in no way comparable to the rhetorical importance attributed to the language. There are manifestations of this both in the declarations of the president of the Generalitat de Catalonia, Jordi Pujol (1995) and in the text of the Research Plan of Catalonia 1993–1996, which stated that one of the priority lines of research was "Language and population," for the following reasons (*El País* 27-II-1993): "Catalan is the basic element of the national conscience, and also the clearest external expression of the reality of Catalonia as a people."

Among the government institutions the Directorate-General of Linguistic Policy stands out, because the Generalitat de Catalonia, the administrative body on which it depends, is the body that has shown the greatest political determination to further the process of the language's social diffusion. The Catalan Institute of Sociolinguistics (ISC), a section of the Directorate-General, has become a sociolinguistic documentation centre of international importance (Domínguez and López 1995), although surprisingly it lacks audiovisual materials. The DGPL has commissioned a range of research projects into the Generalitat's activity in the field of language use (cf. 2.1.); it awards grants and prizes for research, takes an active part in European scientific networks (Network of Language Contact and Code-Switching promoted by the European Science Foundation, 1990–1992), organizes journals such as *Llengua i ús. Revista tècnica de normalització lingüística* and *Viure en català*, runs congresses of Catalan and international sociolinguists (such as the European Congress of Linguistic Planning 1995...), and is directly involved in European *language surveys* such as Euromosaic ([4.1] Aragay and Sabaté (1995), Romaní et al. (in press), Nelde et al. (1996).

The ISC is a public centre, and follows the guidelines laid down by politically elected bodies. So it is not conceived as an independent institute for the use of Catalan, common to all the Catalan-speaking territories (Aracil 1982, 219–228). Its main task in recent years has been to coordinate the preparation of the General Normalization Plan, which aimed to increase the involvement of the Catalan autonomous government in linguistic questions. These governmental interventions have been complemented by a network of linguistic normalization in which the autonomous government and local authorities work together.

Other public bodies are also active in linguistic planning, thus

avoiding to some extent the risks of *dirigisme* in research – it is never a good thing to have only one client. The Directorate-General of Linguistic Policy of the Generalitat of Valencia, under the direction of R.-Ll. Ninyoles, has supervised a systematic research project into the sociolinguistic situation (cf. 2.1. later on). This intervention has received less funding and a lower social profile than the Catalan Generalitat's involvement, due to the specific sociolinguistic and political situation of Valencian society. The other public administrations have commissioned a number of sporadic studies. The Andorran government has funded two recent studies: one short study of the, of Andorran youth ([4.1] Boix and Farràs 1994, 1996a, 1996b) and another more ambitious one: a sociolinguistic report on the situation in the Principality ([4.1] Govern d'Andorra 1996). The *Centro de Investigaciones Sociológicas*, run by the Spanish central government, conducted its first study of plurilingualism in the population ([4.1] Siguan 1994). Also rather late, the French government has decided to study multilingualism in the Eastern Pyrenees (cf. 4.1. Média Pluriel 1993).

3) *Academic sociolinguistics*. At the same time as this considerable involvement of sociolinguistics and linguistic planning in the Catalan government, there has been a growing (though insufficient) professionalization of the researchers in sociolinguistics who work outside public bodies. In our view, this diversification of the few members of the university community who can devote themselves professionally to sociolinguistics and pragmatics is due to:

(a) *The absence of a consistent tradition*. Neither Lluís V. Aracil and Rafael Ll. Ninyoles, both in their own ways real *maîtres à penser* in the sociology of language, have been able to create or consolidate a school or a tradition of their own in higher education (on the evolution of Aracil's work see Aracil 1994, and [4.1] Garí 1990). Neither has been able to direct the theses or the research of those who are now professors in the field.

(b) *The absence of specialized teaching*. This diversity often turns into dispersion, and above all into competition between researchers and universities for resources which are always limited. There is little point in speaking of priorities when resources are minimal. Sociolinguistics has rather timidly entered university study plans. Alongside the traditional studies of the sociology of language, lines of research as varied as linguistic anthropology, linguistic variation, pragmatics and discourse analysis were introduced in the eighties. We have repeatedly requested the creation of doctorate programs in



sociolinguistics (DGPL (ed.) 1991a, 2-3, *passim*; Bañeres and Leprêtre 1991, 67). In 1996, however, none of the universities in the Catalan-speaking territories offer doctorate programs in sociolinguistics and pragmatics, which would allow specialized training in the area, on the basis of a dual curriculum combining sociological and linguistic subjects. The transversal and interdisciplinary nature of sociolinguistics has worked against the discipline inside the academic system, which, in the evaluation of teaching staff and in departmental or ministerial research prioritizes non-tangential specializations (CNRS 1992).

In practice, the teaching of sociolinguistics is concentrated in the arts faculties in which the teaching of statistics for social sciences is conspicuous by its absence. The lack of a sociological tradition in the Catalan-speaking areas (see Bonal 1995) is a further obstacle to the establishment of the discipline in university circles. Sociologists in Catalonia have shown little interest in the linguistic question – maybe due to the nationalist connotations that they attribute to it? – and the first courses in sociolinguistics have only just begun in the faculties of sociology.

There is, then, a lack of coordination inside public administrations/government and inside universities, a coordination which is necessary in a country that is small demographically and has a language considered (at least theoretically) as a public resource that should be preserved and promoted. Coordination inside public administrations/government bodies is unviable for political reasons. Inside the university, however, it should be an achievable aim, what with teacher and student mobility, joint research projects, and so on. As the discipline is barely visible in higher education, there is a dearth of specialist staff to conduct empirical studies. Some bodies hired outside companies to carry out sociolinguistic studies, with disastrous results (cf., for example, [4.1] Gabinet d'Us del Valencià 1989). This lack of postgraduate involvement or any form of continuing education in sociolinguistics discourages students from pursuing their studies further, or forces the most committed to continue their specialization at foreign universities. The Master's in Applied Linguistics (Planificació i Serveis Lingüístics/Linguistic Planning and Services) organized by the Universitat de Barcelona (1987 - 1993), with the collaboration of the Directorate-General of Linguistic Policy of the Generalitat de Catalunya and the Consortium for Linguistic Normalization, is one of the few exceptions. It is understandable, then, that the number of doctoral theses is very low and that the number of students who go abroad to study is high. There is a need for an Interuniversity Institute for Sociolinguistic Research that could bring

together specialists from different faculties and departments and offer integrated training in sociolinguistics that is more than just a vague scientific ecumenism. A great deal has to be assimilated – and assimilated properly – if truly interesting contributions are to be made. In addition to the growing participation in specialist international associations (in 1990, for example, the congress of the International Pragmatics Association was held in Barcelona, organized jointly by the UAB, the Universitat Autònoma de Barcelona, and the Universitat de Barcelona), we need to improve the mechanisms and organization of research, internal criticism and debate among sociolinguists and pragmatists in the Catalan-speaking countries.

## 2. OUR APPRAISAL

Any selection of materials such as this one brings with it some kind of evaluation, implicit or otherwise. Even though the large number of references may seem to suggest this, our overview is not meant to be merely a bibliographic inventory. In some cases we comment on the value or interest of a particular article or book. In others, the criteria of the specialist in the field have the final word.

First, we will present the main lines of research, in six sections: (1) Sociology of the language and linguistic planning, (2) Social psychology of language, (3) Linguistic anthropology and ethnography of communication, (4) Sociolinguistics of variation, (5) Sociolinguistics of varieties of Catalan and the contact of languages and (6) Pragmatics, discourse analysis and interactional sociolinguistics. In the last part we will present our conclusions, some brief general observations in which we will attempt to evaluate the importance of these lines of research.

### 2. 1. SOCIOLOGY OF THE LANGUAGE AND LINGUISTIC PLANNING

As we have seen, Catalan sociolinguistics, communication between sociolinguists and the dissemination of their data and concepts inside the population as a whole, were characterized initially by the link between social action and theory. Until now, this social action has prioritized the areas of sociology and linguistic planning, and so this section is by far the longest and most heterogeneous of this assessment. As we stated above, we will not mention the classic works of Lluís Vicent Aracil, Rafael Lluís Ninyoles, Francesc Vallverdú or Antoni M. Badia i Margarit (cf. the bibliographical summary in section 4.o.), whose ideas and theories move inside the sociology of the

language. To guide the reader through this maze, we suggest the following itinerary: (1.) the principal concepts and analyses of a more theoretical nature; (2.) the evaluations of the status of the Catalan language; (3.) macrosociological studies or surveys; (4.) studies of the social sciences on linguistic substitution and maintenance; and (5.) analyses of the future of the language (Catalan) and of languages in general.

2. 1. 1. *Concepts.* Catalan sociolinguistics has introduced concepts such as *linguistic conflict*, diglosia, linguistic normalization and self-hate (Kabatek 1995), and has dealt with themes which have had a great impact on language use, such as the mass migrations to the *Catalan-speaking territories*. Certain concepts and new themes have been introduced recently, such as linguistic charity (Sistac 1991) and the polynomic languages of Leprêtre and Bañeres (1993). Kremnitz, in his introduction to Catalan sociolinguistics, *Sprachen in Konflikt Theorie und Praxis der katalanischen Soziolinguisten* [4.0] (1979) and, more recently, in his manual *Gesellschaftliche Mehrsprachigkeit* (1990), presents a large number of these concepts to German readers, and Mollà and Palanca (1987) and Mollà and Viana (1989, 1991), in their well-known manuals, do the same for Catalan readers. Conceptual debates are no longer frequent in Catalan sociolinguistics, but one or two still smoulder on, such as the one concerning diglosia. For example, Pueyo (1989, 1992) has argued convincingly that the concept of diglosia does not describe the current conflict between Catalan and the other languages with which it comes into contact (also on the concept of diglosia see Sanz 1991a, Rafanell 1993).

These first studies, especially those by Aracil, the most theoretically ambitious author in Catalan sociolinguistics, have been expanded and paraphrased by numerous subsequent studies and by studies of political debate and dissemination, which we will not mention here. Since Aracil abandoned sociolinguistics (cf. 4.0, Aracil 1994), the most important theoretical contributions have been those of Lamuela, who has followed on Aracil's sociolinguistic tradition and has systematically examined the concepts of linguistic codification (1991, [4.5] 1992, 1994a, 1994b; 1995). Inside Lamuela's theoretical project are studies that characterize alphabetical systems (1991; cf. 2.5. below), based on case studies of Occitan and Friulian linguistic communities. Montaner (1988), for his part, examined the concept of linguistic minoritization; Joan (1991, 1994a, 1994b), more recently has analyzed the relationship between linguistic substitution and social progress, and different successful standardization processes; Argente (1996) presents an overview of research on language shift, whereas both

Münch (1995) and especially Boyer and Lamuela (1996) describe the codification process of Catalan. Querol (1993) outlined a model for analyzing interlinguistic relations. Inglés (1990) introduced the concepts of "necessitat d'ús" and "utilitat d'ús."

Within the *engagé* tradition, which to a large extent follows the lines of the contributions of the Seminari de Sociolingüística de Barcelona (1987), we should mention the sociolinguistics manuals of Mollà and Palanca (1987; cf. the critiques of Bernardó 1990) and of Mollà and Viana (1989, 1991). In the desire to provide a history of sociolinguistic ideas, articles have appeared on the history of European sociolinguistics (cf. the anthology of Viana (ed.) 1995) and the study of Latin (Viana 1992), on the sociolinguistic thought of authors such as Delfí Dalmau (Solé Camardons 1994), Joan Maragall (Calaforra 1994b), Menéndez y Pelayo (Costa 1994). Following the death of Joan Fuster, analyses of the sociolinguistic aspects of his thought have been published (Fuster 1994, Murgades 1996e). There is only one brief article on the most frequently quoted Catalan sociolinguist, Lluís V. Aracil (Garí 1990).

*2.1.2. Evaluations of the sociolinguistic situation, and sociolinguistic planning.* Pitarch has described the concept of linguistic community (1989) and Strubell (1989a, 1991a) has studied its evolution very graphically. Murgades (1992) and Lamuela (1990, 1994c) adopt critical positions on linguistic policy in recent years. Some general evaluations and analyses, above all concerning the process of linguistic normalization in Catalonia, can be found in Strubell (1990, 1992), Boix (1991a), Bernat (1990), Boyer (1990, 1992), Fishman (1991, chap. 10), Marí 1993a, Branchadell (1996) and Leprêtre (1992). More monographic studies stress the influence of Spanish as the majority language in certain key sectors, among, for example, future primary school teachers in the metropolitan region of Barcelona (Rico et al. 1989).

Studies on the País Valencià (we recommend readers to consult first Pitarch (1994a, 1996), Alpera and Gimeno (1991), Alpera 1994b), all report the advance of Spanish in the area of Alacant (Alpera 1994a) and urban areas in general, such as Sagunt (Gómez Molina 1991), Valencia (Lluch 1989) and Castelló (Ferrando et al. 1989). For the Balearics, readers should consult Moll (1991), Bibiloni (1991, 1992, 1993), Cajker 1993, Joan 1992 and Melià (1994a, 1994b). Verdaguer (1992), on Catalunya Nord, considers that Catalan is no longer transmitted intergenerationally. Espluga and Capdevila (1995), Martín Gálvez (1995), Huguet (1991, 1995) and Moret (1993, 1994, in press) report the lack of written and formal use of Catalan in the Catalan-speaking part of Aragón, the only area in Spain in which Catalan is spoken but is not recognized as an official language.



Alongside these studies, a range of more technical contributions have appeared, often from North America or Quebec, on sociology and linguistic planning. Examples are the books and articles by Bastardas (1991b, 1993, 1994a), Aymà (1992), Marí (1989, 1992a), Budd (1994), and the specialized work of Barrera (1994). Bastardas has put forward models of linguistic planning which prioritize intervention in institutionalized communications, starting from an analysis of the norms for language use in Catalonia (1994a, 1994b). From the perspective of applied sociolinguistics, Bastardas (1994b, 1995a) considers the question of the effects of institutional interventions on language use. Recently, he has stressed the need to broaden the perspective of sociolinguistic analysis (1995b, 1996; in press). Aymà and Marí, from inside the Catalan administration, advocate a gradual, practicable model for extending the use of Catalan, which will aid in the unifying process of the population of the Catalan-speaking countries and achieve a majority consensus on linguistic matters. Argente (ed.) (1991) records the debate on normalization at the Institut d'Estudis Catalans, and Martí (1990) identified the assumptions that define the strategies of the process of linguistic normalization of Catalan and the assumptions that define the tactics for achieving the final objectives. His denial of the often stated principal that a language in conflict either becomes normalized or is substituted (cf. also Martí 1992) has sparked off a controversy concerning the social history of the language (cf. Rafanell 1993). Mollà and Pitarch (1992) presented a linguistic policy model for the País Valencià, and there are now a number of analyses and proposals concerning the possibilities of an egalitarian multilingualism, both inside the Spanish state (Bañeres (ed.) 1990, Bastardas and Boix (eds.) 1994, Ninyoles 1994) and inside the European framework. The main concern is to define [and promote] the role of linguistic diversity (Argente 1994, [4.3] Junyent (1992, 1995a, 1995b), and the role of Catalan, in European cultural markets (Barrera 1991, Bañeres 1992a, Vila and Sellarés 1994, Marí 1990, 1992a, 1992b, 1993b, 1994a, 1995a, 1995b, 1996; Meseguer (chairman, 1994), Siguan 1995, 1996). Some authors are beginning to express a certain scepticism about the process of European unification because they had supposed, without much justification, that this process would solve the problem of the nationalities and their linguistics rights (Pitarch 1994a, 1994b). Bañeres (1989), with his discussion of the standardization process of Slovene, offers one of the scarce contribution to non Catalan topics.

2.1.3. *Surveys.* Public administrations in Catalonia and the País Valencià have organized sociological studies to evaluate the dissemination of Catalan in different social settings. Firstly, the

Catalan public administration has subsidized the study of demolinguistic data provided by population censuses (Reixach et al. 1989 on the 1986 census in Catalonia; and Reixach et al. (1995) on the 1991 census; Hall (1994). For its part, the administration of València subsidized a (rather unreliable) analysis of the 1986 census (Gabinet d'Ús del Valencià 1990b). Strubell (1991b) concentrated on the possibilities of predicting linguistic data from the census and Bañeres (1992b) assessed the validity and reliability of the data it provided. Melià (1993a), Alomar (1994, 1995a) and Ginard (1995) analyzed the censuses in the Balearics (1986 and 1991). Camós (1989) analyzed the census data of L'Hospitalet de Llobregat in 1986. This importance attributed to linguistic data from censuses (cf. Boix 1991b) led the Catalan Institute of Sociolinguistics to organize a series of workshops on demolinguistics in November 1993 [4.0] (DGPL (ed.) (1995). Among other recent surveys, the most important are those conducted in the País Valencià in 1985, 1989, 1992 and 1995, commissioned by its autonomous government and directed in some cases by Ninyoles (Gabinet d'Ús 1989, 1990a, 1990b, 1991; Servei d'Estudis i Investigació Sociolingüística 1992a, 1992b, Ninyoles (dir.) 1993, 1994a; for an assessment cf. Pitarch 1995a). In Catalonia Nord, surveys have been conducted by Dawn (1993a, 1993b, 1995) and Wanner (1993), and another commissioned by the Regional Committee for Culture in Languedoc-Roussillon (Média Pluriel 1993). Also in this French *département*, Lagarde (1993, 1995a, 1995b, 1996) has analyzed the Spanish speaking community in Perpinyà. In The Balearics, local surveys show a clear dominance of Spanish in the turistic urban sectors (Moll 1989, Moll 1994a, Garau et al. 1991, Ajuntament de Lluchmajor 1991). Last but not least Euromosaic (Leprêtre 1994; Nelde et al. 1996)

The fullest information on the research and interests of linguistic planning in Catalonia is to be found in *Estudis i propostes per a la difusió de l'ús social de llengua catalana* ([4.0] Strubell (ed.) 1991). In the four volumes of this book, over 70 specialists review the current situation and the recent evolution of Catalan in different settings, and the social dynamic and the factors that intervene in the extension of the social use of the language; there are also detailed reviews of experiences in international linguistic planning international that are relevant to the case of Catalan, which we will not mention here. This report notes the will to embark on a new stage in the recovery of the Catalan language, stated explicitly in the speech on 9 July 1989 by Miquel Reniu, Director General of Linguistic Policy of the Generalitat de Catalunya (Reniu 1990). After achieving the initial objective of spreading mass knowledge of Catalan throughout Catalonia, the aim was now to redefine the problem, and to influence linguistic practices

and ideologies in such a way that Catalan would become socially necessary (cf. Argelaguet 1993, 1996). These good intentions have been partly frustrated (the 1983 Law of Linguistic Normalization of Catalonia has not been modified), although a General Plan of Linguistic Normalization has been passed (Generalitat de Catalunya 1995). The provisional nature of Spanish political power at the beginning of the eighties and the budgetary restrictions in the public sector as a whole have also been obstacles to producing agreements and implementing new linguistic policies, as were proposed in the conclusions of the II International Congress of the Catalan language.

The usefulness of census data is limited, as they only offer information concerning "declared" linguistic knowledge. For the first time we have access to representative data on the inhabitants of the Metropolitan Region of Barcelona in 1985, 1991 and soon for 1995 as well (Subirats 1990, 1992). Siguan (1994), on the basis of the first surveys subsidized by central organisms of the Spanish state provides data from 1993 on the principal language of the population of the País Valencià, Catalonia and the Balearic Islands. The Andorran government (1996) has just published a preliminary set of results from the first survey of linguistic knowledge and use among the population (Govern d'Andorra 1996). Analyses of the linguistic effects of immigrations (Strubell 1989a) still appear, above all in the Balearics, where the flow of immigration has been constant since the fifties (Melià 1992, 1994b, 1994c, Moll 1992).

*2.1.4. Social sciences, linguistic substitution and maintenance.* Few centres outside philology or linguistics organize sociolinguistic studies. We find a few theories, and a few short essays if we look hard. Flaquer (1991, 1994a, 1994b, 1996), for example, has repeatedly noted the problems facing Catalan in its attempt to figure in the more spontaneous use in Catalonia, and the necessity for civic, as well as institutional, mobilization. As long as the attraction of Catalan is strictly instrumental, its continuity independent of governmental interventions, which sooner or later will cease, is threatened. García (1994, 1995) has focused her research on Spanish Speaking second-generation immigrants in Catalonia Rambla (1993, 1995) has related the social structure and the distribution of Spanish and Catalan speakers in what he called 'areas of intersection' in Barcelona (1993). Later, in 1995, he expanded his analysis in rural Catalan-speaking areas of Aragón and the Ebre and studied the daily speech of thirty couples from Barcelona, linguistically mixed or linguistically homogeneous.

Some studies are beginning to describe the connection between economics and linguistic use: Petitbó's general study (1991), the study

by Ninyoles of the south-west arc of the Mediterranean coast (1994a, 1994b), and the study by Alenyà (1989) on economics and immigration in Majorca. Bonet (ed.) (1995) situates the limits of movement of cultures and languages of restricted diffusion in a transnational world economy. There are isolated contributions from the field of geography (Casassas 1991) and demography (Cabrè 1995).

In the field of political science we should mention the works of Colomer (1990, 1991, 1992, 1996), Laitin (1989, 1992) and Laitin et al. (1994) applying the *rational choice theory* and game theory in the description of the sociolinguistic situation and language choice in Catalonia. The research of Argelaguet (1993, 1994, 1996) clarifies the definition of the problem of linguistic policy in Catalonia since the transition: peaceful social coexistence has been the fundamental criterion. This author demonstrates how the political socialization of the generation that has been taught in Catalan has meant that this generation has a relatively strong identification with nationalist parties. Authors wonder whether new stages in the extension of Catalan are possible. As the use and the necessity of Catalan in certain social settings increases, conflict arises with sectors reluctant to abandon their Spanish-speaking monolingualism (cf. Vallverdú (1995a) and Comissió de llengua del PSC (ed.) 1994).

From the perspective of education sociology, Vila (1990) introduced several basic sociolinguistic concepts, whereas Subirats and Brullet (1992) studied the linguistic differences between teachers and their influence on the reproduction of behaviours and ideologies in children (cf. also [4.3] Pujolar 1995). However, there is little research into sexism in the language with any ambitious theoretical horizons, i.e. beyond the necessary, but insufficient prescriptions and advice, aiming to eliminate examples of linguistic androcentrism (cf. Lledó 1992). There are still few studies of social varieties (cf. 4.5. below) describing them in relation to social structure. Only Pla ([4.4] 1995), [4.5] Ballart (1996) and, more obliquely, López del Castillo (1995), in an article on literacy programs and the teaching of spelling address the subject. Cabana (1996) analyzes the history of the "Castilianization" of the higher echelons of the Catalan bourgeoisie.

Over this period there has been an increase in the number of studies of the ecological situation of the languages (Verdaguer 1994; and especially Junyent [4.3] 1992 and [4.3] 1995a, [4.3] 1995b), and of the involvement of the linguist in the survival of languages under threat (Argente 1994). These studies take the future of Catalan together with the more general future of linguistic diversity.

There are few studies of the linguistic repertoires of the main cities of the *Catalan-speaking areas*, such as València (Ninyoles (dir.) 1993,



1996), Palma (Marí 1994b, Moll 1994b, Alomar 1995b), Barcelona (Bierbach 1988, Marí 1995a), Olot (Pujolar 1989, 1991), Tarragona (Hernández, et al. 1992; Centre de Normalització Lingüística 1993) and, though somewhat briefly, Lleida ([4.4] Casanovas 1995). For example, there is as yet no overall evaluation of linguistic policy at municipal level in Barcelona. Here we will mention only studies in four priority fields in linguistic substitution and maintenance: intergenerational linguistic transmission, young people and education, businesses and the media and, finally, linguistic ideologies and mentalities.

(a) *Intergenerational linguistic transmission.* There is a substantial amount of data on the *family language*, key information for identifying trends in the substitution or recuperation of Catalan. For a recent review, see F.X. Vila (1993b).

On the one hand, most of the data from the metropolitan region of Barcelona indicate that the two principal linguistic groups have maintained their numbers; some reports describe a slight increase in Catalan, balanced by the power of attraction of the Spanish-speaking group towards the new non-European immigrants. The substantial relative growth of linguistically mixed couples in the principal urban area of Catalonia and of young people who consider themselves family bilinguals (cf. the metropolitan survey by Subirats, 1990), has sparked off a plethora of qualitative studies of these sectors of the population. Rambla (1993) analyzed which positions of social intersection (between Catalan-speakers and Spanish-speakers) favour everyday learning and use of Catalan. Boix and Malloy worked on sixty semi-guided interviews with linguistically mixed couples with children between the ages of 3 and 10 (Boix 1995a, in press a). O'Donnell (1991a, 1991b, 1996b) studied the same sector of heterogeneous couples in Mataró and *País Valencià* provide a more alarming diagnosis of linguistic use, reporting that Catalan is losing ground in the family, even in families in which husband and wife were both born in the region. Querol (1990) studied intergenerational linguistic transmission in Morella, *País Valencià*, and Barcelona. In contrast, studies in the Montoya (1992a, 1993, 1995a, 1995b 1996, in press) analyzed intergenerational linguistic transmission mainly in Alacant and to a lesser degree in Majorca. Melià (1996) analyzes indicators that Catalan is generally not transmitted intergenerationally in mixed families in Palma de Mallorca, the capital of the island.

b) *Young people and education.* There is a great deal of sociological research into the linguistic knowledge and use reported by young people (for example, in Sabadell (Erill, et al. 1992); the young are the sector of the population that is most proficient in Catalan in the four

skills (listening, speaking, reading and writing) (Boix 1992). Pueyo (1996) presents the models of school linguistic policy that affect Catalan-speakers, Moll (1995) reviews linguistic policy in teaching in the Balearics, while Argente (1993) situates the Catalan educational experience inside a European framework (cf. also Turell 1995c, Grainer 1992 and Grant 1992).

Many studies of education have investigated students' knowledge of the two official languages at the end of their obligatory schooling (Vial 1990, Bel et al. 1992, Rius 1993) and at the end of secondary education (I. Vila 1991, 1995, Vilà and Vila 1992, Huguet and Serra 1993), above all from the perspective of the psychology of language. Particularly linguistic immersion experiences have been analyzed (Artigal 1993, Artigal and Laurén 1992). Research into linguistic knowledge, uses and ideologies of secondary school students has been carried out in Majorca (Melià 1996), Manresa (Plaza 1994), and Andorra (Boix and Farràs 1996a, 1996b).

Less frequent are sociological studies of spontaneous use in teaching (Servei de Llengua Catalana 1991), and of linguistic use in students involved in linguistic immersion plans in Catalan (F.X. Vila 1993a, [4.5] 1996). Immersion has become a central topic, and a conflictive one, fed by a range of controversies (cf. Artigal 1989, 1991a, 1991b; (ed.) 1995), and bilingual education in general is still a source of interest and the basis for a number of studies (Arenas 1990, Arnau et al. 1992). In addition, and stimulated by the creation or segregation of new universities, there are numerous sociological studies of linguistic use in university centres (e.g. Tobarra and Xambó (1995) on València, Bofarull et al. (1995) on Tarragona, and Pons (1995) on Barcelona). There is a significant lack of public research into the teaching of other foreign languages, even though there is an obvious need for them, especially in societies with languages of restricted diffusion such as Catalan which has to compete in a market which is becoming more transnational every day. Both for reasons of international competitiveness and for reasons of internal social cohesion – a fluent knowledge of English has become a marker of class – public intervention is required to multilingualize the population (cf. the pioneer volume by Bañeres (ed.) (1990) on the needs of community languages).

(c) *Businesses and the media.* The Catalan government assessed the sociolinguistic situation in the workplace (among other publications, Institut d'Investigació Comercial i d'Opinió Pública 1992, Metra-Seis 1992, Aguilera and Romaní 1995, Tudela (ed.) 1995). There have been frequent analyses of linguistic policies in the media. Among the most important was the volume of the II International Congress of the

Language on the subject ([4.0] Vallverdú (ed.) 1989), which analyzed the perspectives of use of Catalan in the media industries (cinema, edition, video, and theatre). In this collective volume Benach (1989) and Gifreu (1989) drew attention to the difficulties facing a language of limited diffusion in trying to compete in markets of explosive growth and rapid internationalization. Gifreu (1991a, 1991b, 1992, 1994) dealt with the challenges of establishing a hypothetical communicative *niche* in Catalan. Also worthy of note is the study by Corominas (1991) of communicative policies and language in Europe. In contrast, few studies concentrate on the linguistic requirements in staff policy in the socio-economic environment. San Miguel (1990) described the demand for English in companies in Barcelona, while Freixa and Freixa (1993) assessed the demand for Catalan.

d) *Linguistic ideologies and attitudes.* There have been relatively few seminars or interdisciplinary publications on the cultural conceptions of the linguistic phenomenon (cf. an exception in Panikkar (ed.) 1994). The lack of articles on linguistic purism is surprising.

From the perspective of sociology Querol (1994) investigated the processes of social representation of linguistic substitution. Working with medieval texts in Aragonese, Esposito (1996) examined the sociolinguistic ideas that constructed the image of a practically monolingual Catalonia in the Middle Ages. Jagemast (1990) studied the linguistic awareness of Catalan-speakers resident in Madrid. Analyses of secessionism in València and above all in Majorca have been published: analyses in favour of the process, proposing a language model coordinated with the Occitan model (Fornés 1991), and more descriptive (Radatz 1993, Berkenbusch 1994, Calaforra 1994a, Neugaard 1995, Sintas 1995). Kremnitz (1995) compares Catalan and Occitan collective identities. O'Donnell (1996a) presents a summary of linguistic controversies in the press in Catalonia in the period 1993-1995 (cf. [4.5] Payrató 1996). In the País Valencià, Pitarch (1995b) situates the political background to the secessionist tendencies in the current framework of the domination of conservative sectors in the autonomous government, and Mollà (1994) advocates civic linguistic mobilization, within his conception of a lay nationalism for the people of València. Also in the País Valencià, Ramos (1992), Dolç (1993) and Xambó (1995a, 1995b) examined the linguistic ideologies of the press. Laitin and Rodríguez ([4.3] 1992a, [4.3] 1992b) compared the ideological discourses of Barcelona newspapers: two in Catalan, and two in Spanish. Boix (1995b, 1996) discusses both ideology and language ideologies among young people.



2.1.5. *The future of the language(s)*. These data are not usually consulted in detail by those who participate in debates on language, or, if they are, they are often interpreted in divergent ways. It is not surprising, then, that there is a wide range of discourses on the language, which usually deter non-specialists from continuing. There are more *partis pris* than empirical data. The political and social fragmentation of the Catalan-speaking areas and the ensuing differences in the rhythms of progress or stagnation of the language, make joint analyses of the situation even more difficult.

Murgades (1996b) classifies the most prototypical discourses in these debates. We will quote only some of the authors who have participated. Prats, et al. (1990), Rafanell and Rossich (1993), Rossich (1994) and Prats (1995), for example, note that Catalan may soon no longer be considered as the language of reference by Catalan-speakers. The reasons for this "pessimistic" view of the short-term future of the language are basically the ones presented in the review *Els Marges* (Argente et al. 1979), in a manifesto that reached a wide public and stimulated considerable debate. Even researchers who work for the Catalan administration agree with basic aspects of the manifesto, which was considered "radical" at the time. Strubell ([4.0] 1993: 181), for example, mentions two large negative factors for the social continuity of Catalan: (1) the country's incapacity to encourage Spanish-speaking immigrants to become actively bilingual, even though more than half of them have lived in Catalonia for over twenty years; and (2) the simultaneous impact of the practically monolingual policy of the central Spanish government and market forces, which are unfavourable to a medium-sized linguistic community, whose members are, inescapably, bilingual.

The data on intergenerational linguistic transmission demonstrate that Spanish has become profoundly nativized in many large urban areas. This process has many aspects: the continuing loss of Catalan as a family language has not been checked in the País Valencià and has spread in areas of Mallorca and Eivissa. In addition, new groups whose first language is Spanish become consolidated – groups born and socialized in Catalonia, not only in poorer circles but in middle and upper-middle class environments as well (cf. [4.3] Ros 1996). In Catalonia, for example, the fact that there is a growing Spanish-speaking middle class means that it is difficult to continue identifying learning Catalan with social progress (Comissió de Llengua (ed.) 1994). These middle classes are particularly reluctant to accept linguistic policies that bestow hegemony on Catalan. Even though hardly anyone advocates the exclusive use of Catalan, opponents of the process of linguistic normalization believe that this is a common



demand. Lagarde, for example, in a study of the bilingual knowledge (1995a, 130), is reticent about a presumed "context de promotion du catalan comme langue exclusive."

These pessimistic declarations and analyses are alarm calls which aim to show the dangers of the *laissez-faire, laissez-passer* attitude of part of the population and especially the economic sectors (Boix 1995b, Pitarch 1996). Reports on the sociolinguistic situation for the public administration, however, tend to present the aspects that are most favourable to the language, because their aim is to persuade the population of the advantages of knowing and using Catalan, i.e. because they want to improve the subjective ethnolinguistic vitality ([4.0] Strubell 1993: 189). Vallverdú (1990, 1995b), working outside the administration, places the emphasis on the gradual dissemination of the use of the language, and above all that it should be done in an atmosphere of peaceful coexistence. Royo (1991) applies the concept of the market to Catalan and proposes that it should acquire an instrumental value, which would allow its social diffusion. Subsequently this author has taken up more critical positions vis-à-vis the social diffusion of Catalan in Catalonia (Royo 1993).

Turning finally to the dissemination of these sociolinguistic materials, we have to say that there is currently a clear imbalance between essays and introductions designed mainly for secondary education (cf. especially Solé Camardons 1991, 1992; Castellanos and Pazos 1995) and university research: it appears that they ignore each other. There is a lack of practical and didactic materials for use in the teaching of sociolinguistics, integrating discourse analysis and the study of the linguistic conflict. The few books containing sociolinguistic exercises available (cf. Sanz and Ruiz 1990a, 1990b, Vila and Bonet 1995), do not yet present the different aspects of the social and functional varieties of the language with sufficient clarity. The limitations imposed by language programs, excessively traditional as far as sociolinguistics is concerned, account to a large extent for these deficits. Graphic materials such as those shown in supplement n°. 6 of the review *Com* (Mapes per a l'estudi de la llengua catalana) and the audiovisual materials devised by Moll (1990a) are especially useful in this area of teaching.

## 2.2. THE SOCIAL PSYCHOLOGY OF LANGUAGE

In this section, obviously enough, we will not deal with studies that may include the word "attitude" in the title (cf. for example Lluçh ([4.1] 1989), but in fact have little to do with the social psychology of language.

Firstly, there are one or two general analyses of the social situation of the language from the perspective of psychology (Siguan 1991), and an introduction to the most common themes of the social psychology of the language of the country (Strubell 1991). Muntaner et al. (1991) studied the importance of the language in Catalan identity (cf. Leprêtre 1994 and Iñíguez and Botella 1995), and Bechini (1991) produced a semantic differential in Catalan.

The norms of use that govern language choice in intergroup situations involving Spanish-speakers and Catalan-speakers have been a central concern for social psychologists of the language and anthropologists (Strubell 1989b) [cf. also 4.3]. This interest has mainly had an applied goal. The dominant norms, according to which habitual Catalan-speakers should use only Spanish with people (hypothetically or *de facto*) outside the autochthonous group, worked against the diffusion of Catalan: Catalan was not the language of public use, and Spanish-speakers felt no need to use it. It is significant, for example, that in the II International Congress of the Catalan Language (1986), there was a special workshop on the subject of passive bilingualism, i.e., the norm of use according to which each speaker should use his/her language to address a speaker from a different linguistic group (García Sevilla 1991).

Since the first studies by Ros and Giles (1979) and Woolard ([4.3] Woolard 1989 (on the basis of initial research in 1979-1980, resumed in 1987) and Woolard and Gahng 1990a, 1990b), different techniques from social psychology have been introduced in the study of linguistic attitudes and uses in the Catalan-speaking countries. The *matched-guise technique* has been the most frequently used method, often alongside participative observations of an anthropological nature, to study language choices. It was used by Calsamiglia et al. (1991) to measure the attitudes of Spanish-speaking students at a Faculty of Education in the metropolitan region of Barcelona, by Blas Arroyo (1994, 1995) to contrast the attitudes towards Catalan and Valencian, and by Sanz (1991b) to consider the different evaluation of the bilingual and monolingual varieties of Spanish in Barcelona. Doyle (1993, 1996) and Boix (1993a) also evaluated the linguistic attitudes of young people in Barcelona, using an adaptation of the segmented dialogue technique, tested by Bourhis and Genesee in Canada. Ros et al. (1994) investigated the intergroup stereotypes and attributions among students from different areas of Spain, including València and Catalonia. This study showed the intergroup attributions of identity, competition and morality of the students of these two regions to be highly differentiated. The subjective ethnolinguistic vitality of young people from València, for example, is fairly low.

Theories concerning interpersonal adaptation in speech, created by the Bristol School, and represented above all by the figure of Howard Giles, have played a major role in the Catalan tradition of social psychology. Since 1989, studies of this nature include those by Viladot (1990a, 1990b, 1993; cf. Viladot and Siguan 1992, Giles and Viladot 1994, Ytsma et al. 1994), which measured the subjective ethnolinguistic vitality of groups of young people in Barcelona. Viladot (1994) related data from the linguistic census to the concept of ethnolinguistic vitality.

Comes et al. (1995) examined the attitudes towards the teaching of and in Catalan of a sample of Spanish-speakers aged 10 to 15 from all regions of Catalonia, using data compiled between 1989 and 1991. There is an article on interdialectal attitudes, between north-west and central varieties at school (Solis 1996). Girban (1995) and Vives (1989, 1993) investigated language attitudes in educational contexts.

The almost complete lack of research and teaching in the social psychology of the language at the university means that it is unlikely that much specialist research will be carried out in the field. M. Àngels Viladot has opened a new research field –old people's speech– with her study in conjunction with Howard Giles, currently under way (cf. Viladot 1996), on the forms and evaluations of simplified, overprotective speech in intergenerational relations.

### 2.3. LINGUISTIC ANTHROPOLOGY AND ETHNOGRAPHY OF COMMUNICATION

In contrast with the multiplicity and heterogeneity of articles and reports on language planning and sociology, the tradition of ethnographic and anthropological studies of language is far more modest, anthropology being the exception. The lack of university training (cf. [1]) in this type of qualitative study leaves a negative mark. Interview techniques, for example, are not taught. Nor are there introductions or general analyses, because there are no previous monographs to turn to for support. An exception is a short essay on the sociolinguistic situation by Esteve Fabregat (1991), one of the instigators of cultural anthropology in Catalan universities.

Language choice is also among the main topics of attraction, for the reasons we mentioned above [2.2]. Most studies of language alternation and choice present data from spontaneous speech in groups of young people in the metropolitan area after periods of participative observation. The pioneering studies of Calsamiglia and Tuson (1980) and Woolard (1991, 1996) have founded a research "school" of their



own. There is a common guiding line in terms of methodology and theory (the interactional sociolinguistics of John Gumperz), followed by subsequent research by Calsamiglia et al. ([4.2] 1991), [4.5] Nussbaum (1990), Boix 1990 ([4.2] 1993a), F.X. Vila ([4.1] 1993a), Doyle ([4.2] 1993, 1996) and Gonzales ([4.5] 1993). At the same time, we should note that key concepts of communication ethnography have been introduced in language teaching (for example, Cots 1995, Llobera 1995 and Llobera et al. (eds.)).

The sociolinguistic components of gender are beginning to be studied (cf. also [4.1] Subirats and Brullet 1992). Pujolar (in press), on the basis of his/her field work with young people from Barcelona, considered the question of masculinity (an issue dealt with here for the first time in the Catalan sphere). Woolard (in press) analyzed how the gender preferences in the structure of peer-groups affect the organization of the linguistic repertoire among first-year students at a public high school in the Barcelona area.

The formation of new identities and new language uses in the Spanish-speaking population of Catalonia was studied by Ros (1996) in l'Hospitalet de Llobregat, and by Báez de Aguilar ([4.5] 1995) and by ([4.1] García (1994, 1995) in families in the Barcelona area. There are two anthropological studies of linguistic behaviour and ideologies, using periods of participative observation, in urban areas with immigrant majorities whose first language is Spanish. The research by Rodríguez (1991, 1993) studies the process of the ideological construction of a new social persona for non-Catalan Spanish workers in Santa Coloma de Gramenet and its exploitation by the autochthonous élites to restate their hegemony. The study by Puertas (1990) investigated the language uses of the inhabitants of "La Mariola," a marginalized area in the old part of the city of Lleida. In the same line of research, Pujolar (1993, 1995), (in conjunction with J. Argente and A. Lorenzo in the project entitled "Language choice, discourse and identity among young people in working-class areas in Barcelona" run by the Universitat Autònoma de Barcelona) investigated language choice in conversations between young working-class people from the Carmel and la Verneda in Barcelona, from the perspective of critical analysis of discourse (Fairclough 1989, 1992). Earlier Pujolar (1991) had investigated the norms of language use among college students. As for the opposite pole of the Catalan social structure –the social and economic élites, who in many cases no longer transmit the language in their private life– there is only the study by McDonogh (1990) on the social history of the *bones famílies* of Barcelona, and the historical approach of Cabana ([4.1] 1996).

The study by Turell and Pujadas (1994), halfway between



anthropology and variationist sociolinguistics, examines interethnic contact, language interferences and alternation in an industrial area on the outskirts of Tarragona (cf. also [4.4] Turell 1995b). In spite of the emergence of many educational or civic associations and groups working in interculturality, the new immigrant groups, from the Maghreb or sub-Saharan Africa, have received little attention from the field of sociolinguistics (McDonogh 1991). Martinell (1992) and her team described the first contacts between Europeans and autochthonous Americans. The study by Puig (1990), the compilation also by Puig (ed.) (1992), and the more specific study by Berthelot and Puig (1992) on the Israeli community in Barcelona, offer samples of today's interest in intercultural research. There are a few introductory studies at universities (Omedes 1994), and a few studies of rich immigrant groups (cf. on Germans in Catalonia, Perarnau 1994). Puig (1988) and Mira (1990) approach the subject more from the perspective of cultural anthropology. Junyent (1992) analyzed linguistic substitution and typologies and also examined the ecology of language and culture (1995a, 1995b).

Finally, other studies of an anthropologic nature have focused on a range of aspects. Laitin and Rodríguez (1992a, 1992b), for example, analyzed the social representations of reality via the Catalan press, Vilà (1991) examined taboo words and euphemisms, and Morant and Peñarroya (1995) addressed the multiple interrelations between language and culture. Farràs (1992) and Beneria (1992) studied aspects of the interaction in the buying and selling of animals. Payrató (1994) presented a grid analysis, traditional in the ethnography of communication, of a television program. Regarding contributions from domains other than Catalan, Boix outlined the research of Xavier Albó (1990) into contacts and conflicts of languages in the Andes—especially between Quechua and Aymara and Spanish—and the study by Melià (in press) in Paraguay. Nussbaum and Tuson (1992) described an alphabetization program in Dakar (Senegal), and Junyent analyzed language diversity in Africa (1991, 1993, 1995c, 1996).

## 2. 4. SOCIOLINGUISTICS OF VARIATION

In this section we analyze studies based on the Labovian tradition of research into language change. Some of them clearly overlap with section [2.5] on *language contact* and the varieties of Catalan. This sociolinguistics of variation has made a slow entry in the Catalan-speaking countries, via the Universitat d'Alacant and the Universitat de Barcelona.

Labovian-style studies have recently increased in number, inspired by researchers such as F. Gimeno in the País Valencià and M.T. Turell in Catalonia. For a review of earlier works on variation, readers should consult the introduction by Turell (1988), the sociolinguistics manual (based on variationist sociolinguistics) by Gimeno and Montoya ([4.0] 1989), and the evaluation of the Labovian tradition in the Catalan-speaking countries presented by Montoya (1994). In the same volume, Montoya et al. (1996) present a historical appraisal of sociolinguistics (cf. also the recent compilation by Gimeno 1995), while Turell (1996) offers an appraisal of the study of language change today.

The quantitative and probabilistic data that these studies present make it possible to begin to assess the importance of social and structural factors in language change with more confidence than prescriptive research. These studies have investigated changes in the speech of Pont de Suert in l'Alta Ribagorça (Alturo and Turell 1990), the assimilation of the unstressed final [e] in Oliva in la Safor (Escrivà 1993), the speech of la Canyada de Biar in l'Alt Vinalopó (Colomina 1992), the change in language and prestige in the speech in Valls and l'Alt Camp (Montoya 1993), and the variants 'ser' and 'estar' in Villafranco del Ebro in the Montsià (Sanz and González 1995). In more than one of these studies (Romero 1994, 1995b), the variants observed to be on the increase are those proposed by the standard language model, based on the Barcelona variety of the language (cf. internal homogeneization, the subject of section 4.5).

Costa (1996) analyzes the relationship between prescriptive norms and the variationist theory. Casanovas (1995) is one of the few researchers to study syntactic variation, in this case the verbal voice in the Spanish of Lleida. This growing number of variationist studies culminates in *La sociolingüística de la variació*, one volume (Turell (ed.) 1995) which includes theoretical articles by Turell herself (1995a), on the social and stylistic dimension of variation by Montoya (1995b), Pradilla (1995; also 1993a, 1993b, 1993c, 1996a, 1996b), Plaza on the *xipella* speech of the Conca de Barberà (1996; also 1992, 1994 and 1995), Pla (1995), on the language change in Alturo (1995), and on variation and language contact (Turell 1995b).

Among studies of language change outside the Labovian variationist current (Cabrè 1989, Bernat 1991, Carrera 1993, 1994, 1995a, 1995b, Espauella et al. 1993, Pons 1996), the investigation by Pons (1992) stands out for its methodological rigour; Pons analyzes the process of traditional *iodització* and palatalization in Barberà del Vallès, an industrial zone in the Barcelona area. Vilà ([4.5]1989, [4.5]1992) and [4.5] Bau and Font (1992) have also examined the regression of traditional *iodització*.

## 2.5. SOCIOLINGUISTICS OF THE VARIETIES OF CATALAN AND OF LANGUAGE CONTACT

A number of monographs and studies of colloquial Catalan are beginning to appear, especially from the perspective of pragmatics and discourse analysis (cf. [4.6] and Payrató 1988, 1992a, Montoya 1992b), or with more descriptive aims (Paloma 1995, [4.6] Sancho 1995). As yet, there is no integrated project in the Catalan-speaking countries – like, for example, the British National Corpus – that compiles representative samples of spontaneous varieties of oral Catalan today. Such a corpus would allow a comparison of the language's evolution with the prescriptive proposals, or the production of dictionaries of current use. In addition to this lack of a real atlas of modern Catalan – an atlas which would be by necessity fundamentally urban and social – there is the fact that linguistics has not benefited from the recordings of oral historians and anthropologist.

There are positive signs that the oral language, in general, has become a centre of interest (cf. the studies in *Signos* 2 (1991), *Jornades sobre llengua i ensenyament* (1995) and *Escola catalana* 308 (1994) and 333 (1996). In addition, the Universitat de Barcelona is compiling a corpus designed from a sociolinguistic perspective (cf. Boix in press a), which will permit the study of functional and social variation on the basis of relevant communicative acts, spontaneous conversations and semi-guided interviews with a grid of informants representative of the metropolitan area of Barcelona (cf. [4.1] Subirats 1992). This corpus is part of the general project "Variació en el llenguatge. Un corpus de català contemporani" which investigates (1) geographical variation in capitals of *comarques* throughout the linguistic domain; (2) neologisms in the written press; and (3) the mass media (radio and television). At the Universitat d'Alacant, a program entitled "Variació lingüística generacional i ensenyament del valencià," aims to describe the effect of the teaching of Catalan on the language model used in the southern *comarques* of València, comparing a range of variables (phonetic, morphosyntactic and lexical) in three generations (grandparents, parents and children). The Universitat Pompeu Fabra is producing different corpuses of specialized language (above all legal and economic language).

The introduction or reintroduction of Catalan in certain areas of use has stimulated research into the characteristics of the specific functional varieties of each setting. There have been a number of theoretical appraisals (Argente 1991). Murgades (1989) reviewed the literature, and Lamuela ([4.1] 1994a), more extensively, offered a theoretical analysis of the restrictions in the Catalan repertoire caused



by the fact that its social functioning is not autonomous Argente and Lorenzo (1993) analyzed the relations between formal reorganization (induced changes) in a language whose social functions are receding.

Argente (1992), Marí (1992c), Salvador (1989c), and Payrató (ed.) (in press) offer a theoretical appraisal of functional variation, a field in which a great deal of research has opened up (cf. *Escola catalana* 308, 1994). Payrató (ed.) (in press) compiled a set of studies on functional variation which form part of the Universitat de Barcelona corpus mentioned above. Both Muñoz (1995) and Piró (1995), with samples of young people's speech recorded secretly, and Wesch (1992, 1994), also provide recent data on spoken Catalan and Spanish in Catalonia. Apart from the prescriptive proposals for avoiding sexual discrimination in language, the theoretical contributions on gender-based linguistic differences—their formation, legitimization and reproduction—are still thin on the ground, as we noted above.

The studies of certain varieties of Catalan, in contrast, have been far more frequent than studies of vernacular varieties, (cf. Payrató 1992b) because prescriptivist visions of language use still predominate, in spite of the fact that all too often the advice (or the reprimand) is given without the support of a minimal body of descriptions to back them up. These studies have revolved around two basic points which are both centred in the homogenizing or integrating language use): (1) standard language, and (2) what are known as *language models*. We will now appraise the material in these two sections, and also publications that can be classified under (3) internal homogeneization, (4) specialized or sectorial varieties, and, finally, (5) manifestations of language contact.

*2.5.1. The standard model.* Studies of both the theoretical conception and practical implementation of the standard language have been published (cf. Institut d'Estudis Catalans 1990, 1992, Lacreu 1990, Joan 1993a, Marí (cond.) 1995, Agustí (ed.) (1996). Since the appearance of television and radio in Catalan, prescriptive guides have been needed (Lacreu 1990). The role of regional differences in standard Catalan is still the centre of the debate—indeed, now more so than ever—due to the tendency towards autonomous fragmentation of the models of language, caused by the political and communicative fragmentation of the linguistic area (Bibiloni 1993, 1995, in press; and Marí 1996, this issue). Berkenbusch ([4.1] 1994) and Sempere ([4.1] 1996, this issue) describe the activity of secessionist groups who challenge this standardization.



*2.5.2. Language models.* The use of Catalan in new contexts has sparked off recurrent controversies (simplified in the terms "heavy Catalan" and "light Catalan" (cf. Sabater 1991, Grup d'Estudis Catalans 1992, Pazos (ed.) 1994) concerning language models. The practical need for guidance for language users in these contexts has given rise to a considerable range of style guides, both from the media and institutions (cf. especially *Diari de Barcelona* (1987), Coromina (1991), Solà (dir.) (1991, 1995), Mestres et al. (1995); for Catalan of the Ebre, Aragonés 1995). Borràs (1995) and Costa (1995) offer a general critique of the ideologies of these style guides. Cassany (1995) reviews the interventions of organizations in language use.

As is to be expected, the language in the media receives a great deal of attention (Martí, Pons and Solà (eds.) 1989, Ferrando (ed.) 1990, Mollà 1990, Tubau 1990a, Tubau 1990b, Institut d'Estudis Catalans 1990, 1991, 1992, *I Jornades sobre llengua i creació literària* 1991, Comissió (ed.) 1995). There is a brief general appraisal by Camps (in [4.1] Panikkar (ed. (1994), 218-220). Puigdomènech (1995) investigated certain registers on television, and Teruel (1992) journalistic registers.

*2.5.3. Internal homogeneization.* The tendency towards internal linguistic homogeneization is a frequent subject of analysis. On the loss of specific features in north-west Catalan, a series of specialist seminars and lectures was held recently (cf. Agustí (ed.) 1996; Agustí (chairman) 1996, Carrera 1996, Romero 1995a, 1996, Segarra and Farreny 1996). Other sociolinguistic aspects of the homogeneization of north-west Catalan appear in Coll (1991). As for other dialects of the language, there are studies of diffusion or retraction of features such as unvoiced consonants in the País Valencià (López García 1992, 1993) and the Vallès ([4.4] Pons 1992), or the *ieism* of the Plana de Vic (Vilà 1989, 1992). Joan (1993b) describes recent changes in the Catalan of Formentera. Whereas Massip (1996) describes variation in Tortosí Catalan.

*2.5.4. Specialized or sectorial varieties.* After the standard language, the most frequently studied varieties are still specific or technical varieties (cf. Duarte 1990, Marquet 1993 and Riera 1993). The creation of Termcat, the centre of Catalan terminology (Marí 1992 c; in press), has provided a stimulus for the tradition of terminological studies in general (Cabrè 1992). Marí (1991b) analyzed the role of terminology in linguistic planning. There are systematic appraisals of neologisms in written Catalan, by the workgroups at the Universitat Pompeu Fabra, and by individual researchers (Brumme 1989, 1992). Navarro (1995) discusses terminological aspects of sociolinguistics.

The increase in linguistic services in Catalan society in recent

years (Marí 1991a, 1991c; Marí et al. 1992b), has stimulated the growth of studies of specialized vocabulary, in administrative Catalan in particular (cf. Escola d'Administració 1988 and Duarte 1993), but there are few studies of other varieties such as sociolects ([4.4] Pla 1995, Ballart 1996), or generational varieties (Muñoz 1995, Piró 1995; Saladrigas (in press) or Catalan in rock music). Freixa (1993) was the first to study the simplified version of Catalan used in relations with foreigners, and Faura (1992, 1994) investigated historical and current varieties related to football.

2.5.5. *Manifestations of language contact.* Studies of language contact, for their part, have analyzed generic themes, such as the constitution of the context for study (Argente in press; Argente and Payrató 1990, 1991), the current situation (Tuson 1990, [4.1] Argente (ed.) 1991, Boix 1993b) or language conflict ([4.1] Boyer 1991). Boix, et al. (in press) present a summary of the manifestations of contact between Spanish and Catalan. In the field of contrastive analysis, Turell compared self-referring pronouns as markers of identity in Catalan and Spanish, and Torrent-Lenzen (1994) described and compared functional aspects of Catalan and German. There have also been more specific studies of particular communities and speech (Argente and Lorenzo 1991, 1993, Moyer 1991, [4.3] Berthelot and Puig 1992) and on specific linguistic consequences of language contact, such as interference and code-switching.

Montoya (1989, 1992c), Ramos (1990), and Blas Arroyo (1993) studied interference in the País Valencià, Turell (1994-1995) in Catalonia, and Cabré (1996) explained the problems of borrowing in relation to lexicography. Argente and Payrató (1991) and Argente and Lorenzo (1993) analyzed the contact between Spanish and the other languages of the Iberian Peninsula. From the perspective of dialectology, Veny (1994) studied how the Spanish sound /X/ has been imported to Catalan.

Many studies of code-switching are to be found in the volumes published by the *Network on Code-Switching and Language Contact* (see Boix 1990b, 1990c, Cambra 1991, Nussbaum 1991 and Tuson 1991). Apart from the more psychologico-social and/or anthropological studies of code-switching (cf. 4.2 and 4.3), Gonzales (1993) investigated this phenomenon in middle-class adults in Barcelona, and Vila (1995, 1996, in press) between mainly Spanish-speaking young people educated in the linguistic immersion model. Moreno (1991) studied this phenomenon from a developmental point of view. Another source of information on language contact is to be found in the proceedings of the congress of the *A/LLC* in 1991 (Alemany et al. (ed.) 1993). As for projects, Joan A. Argente (as main researcher of the Universitat



Autònoma of Barcelona and the Institut d'Estudis Catalans) coordinates research into the analysis of the process of substitution and maintenance of Catalan, while the "La Canonja" project, run by the Anglo-Germanic and Social Anthropology Sections at the Universitat Rovira i Virgili, has studied the phenomena of interlinguistic contact between Catalan and Spanish in the Tarragona area, from the perspective of anthropology and variationism (cf. [4.3] Turell and Pujadas 1994, and [4.4] Turell 1995b).

As a result of the bilingualization of a substantial sector of Spanish-speakers in Catalonia, the number of studies on the varieties of Spanish used in Catalonia has also grown (cf. [4.4] Casanovas 1995 on features of Spanish in Lleida). Hernández (in press) presented a design for a sociologically representative corpus for the description of the Spanish of Barcelona. Vann ([4.3] 1996, this issue) studies how speakers of Catalan as first language signal their ethnolinguistic identity when speaking Spanish by using deictics from Catalan. Other recent studies describe the evolution of Spanish in sectors of immigrant origin, in the metropolitan area of Barcelona (Moyer 1991 and Klempt 1990), and in the Tarragona area (Turell 1994). The same author (1990) compared auto-reference in both Spanish and Catalan.

These changes in the bilingual repertoire are reflected in literary works. Azevedo (1991), Berkenbusch and Heinemann 1995, and Heinemann (1994a, 1994b, 1996, in press a and b) and Lagarde (1995) study manifestations of the contact between Catalan and Spanish in novels written in Spanish and set in Barcelona. In contrast, there are no studies of bilingual theatre, in spite of its reappearance in recent years. Also in a literary context, Solé Camardons (1995a, 1995b) was the first to study language contact in Catalan science-fiction.

## 2. 6. PRAGMATICS, DISCOURSE ANALYSIS AND INTERACTIONAL SOCIOLINGUISTICS

The lack of a tradition of study in these areas has been compensated to some extent in the last few years. Whereas earlier studies were disparate and unconnected, recent lines of research have been solid and consistent. One of the fields that has received most attention –understandably, given the country's dynamic pedagogical tradition– is classroom interaction, with the studies by Saló (1990, 1994), Bonilla (1991) and Nussbaum ([4.5] 1992). As for discourse analysis, n° 7 of the review *Caplletra* (dated 1989, but in fact published in 1991) has become the first –and so far the only– monographical volume of studies of this kind; among other contributions (mentioned below) the volume

contains articles on the conception of the discipline (Salvador 1989a), bibliographic guides (Payrató and Salvador 1989) and studies of syntactic aspects (Viana 1989), and a consideration of the relationship between pragmatics and discourse analysis (Bassols 1989). A similar relationship, the one between pragmatics and sociolinguistics, is considered for the first time in Calsamiglia and Tuson (1991); Nussbaum and Puig (1990) emphasize the link between linguistics and sociolinguistics, and Puig (1990), the pioneer, stresses the interdisciplinary nature of sociolinguistics in relation to intercultural research in particular.

Legal discourse, from a socio-pragmatic perspective, has received attention in the studies by Casanova (1991a, 1991b, 1993, 1994). Moya (1989) and Laguna (1993) examined the discourse of mental illness, and Laguna and Vayreda (in press) proposed a model of discourse analysis and presented applications of it. Calsamiglia et al. (1994) analyzed an example of television *talk shows* and are currently involved in a research project contrasting European discussion programs. The interest in different genres is reflected by the study of Cros (1995) on university lectures, Maingueneau and Salvador (1995) on literary discourse and the volumes of the journal *Escola catalana* on registers (308, 1994) and oral language (333, 1996). As for applications in teaching, see *Llengua i ensenyament. Actes de les Jornades* (1994) and *Articles de didàctica de la llengua i la literatura A4* (1995), a monograph on discursive diversity. There are few studies on the discourse of linguistic conflict (cf. [4.0] Cardús (1995), Burgert (1995), [4.1] O'Donnell (1996a), Payrató (1996) and the work shown in note 5, section 1.1); the proceedings of the colloquium organized by the Centre of Catalan Studies at the Sorbonne (19-21.X.1995) entitled "Le discours sur la nation en Catalogne, 19ème et 20ème siècles") will be published in 1996.

Other monographic studies have dealt with more specific aspects, such as riddles (Bassols 1990), metaphor (Salvador 1989b, Teruel 1995), graffiti (Garí 1993), proverbs (Conca 1989) and autonomous emblems or gestures (Payrató 1989, 1993). From the perspective of pragmatics, Bassols investigated misunderstandings (1994), the press (1993) and translation (in press). There have also been studies of argumentation (Bassols 1992, 1995b; "historical discourse" contrasted with "current discourse," Berkenbusch 1989a, 1989b), conversational interaction (Salvador 1988, Tuson 1988, 1995, Cots et al. 1989, Cots 1992, 1993, Berenguer 1995, Nussbaum and Tuson, this issue), discourse strategies (Saló 1994), modal particles (Knauer 1994, Torrent-Lenzen 1994), and discourse connectors and markers (cf. Saló and Llobera 1989, Cuenca 1989, Castellà and Cuenca, 1993 and the supplement n°. 8 of the review



*Com*, 1991). This last subject is directly linked to the field of textual linguistics, in which the contributions have been more numerous (cf. Camps et al. 1990, the *Com* supplement mentioned above, Castellà 1992, Artigas et al. 1995), some of which deal with literary aspects (Carbó 1989, Aznar 1993). Laborda (1993) combines essay and manual in a study of the persuasive aspects of rhetoric whereas Salvador (1995, in press) combines both dialectology and pragmatics when analyzing Valencian discourse.

### 3. CONCLUSIONS

The conclusions of reviews of this kind are always relative, given that they depend largely on the points that are used for comparison: similar areas of study in other countries or research communities; related areas (for example, inside the sciences of language) in the same country or community; or other periods of time in the same domain and the same country. We will present our conclusions in spite of all our reservations.

The approaches of sociolinguistics and pragmatics in the years that this overview covers can be described as follows: (1) *Engagé* and socially motivated, but increasingly empirical; (2) undisciplined, and in need of supervision; and (3) dynamic, receptive to outside influences, but relatively unproductive in terms of material for export.

#### 3.1. *ENGAGÉ* AND SOCIALLY MOTIVATED, BUT INCREASINGLY EMPIRICAL

As we have noted, Catalan sociolinguistics initially appears to be closely and traditionally linked with the process of the normalization of the language. This is, inevitably, one of its most characteristic features, and is a feature that has changed little in recent years. In this period, in spite of a notable diversification and the extremely limited dedication of sociologists to the field, Catalan sociolinguistics has continued to play a role, above all in the sociology of the language and in linguistic planning (cf. the disproportion between sections 1–6); for this reason, they are concepts that are still taken to be synonyms. Indeed, sociolinguistics is still too often identified with what colloquially many people refer to as “all that stuff about Catalan.” Often one has the impression, as Gimeno and Montoya (1989) state, that “everything is sociolinguistics,” and the banalization or the deformations of established sociolinguistic terminology are only the most visible consequence of this abuse. It is not surprising that the

word "sociolinguist" has fallen into disrepute. A Catalan philosopher claimed recently that he was careful not to enter "the territory of linguistic policy, because although it is not exactly 'theology', any intervention may end in a 'religious war'." If everyone feels the need to give their opinion, then anyone in Catalonia can become a "sociolinguist." Due to these confusions, and to an understandable desire to make distinctions, researchers who a few years ago described their research as sociolinguistic, now prefer to see themselves as researchers into sociology, anthropology, pragmatics or discourse analysis.

In classic terms, the bulk of Catalan sociolinguistics is still *macrosociolinguistic*, i.e., it concentrates on the macrorelations between language and society. Following R.A. Hudson (1980), we could say that the scene is dominated by the study of society in relation to the language, while the study of the language in relation to society (the *microsociolinguistic* approach) is ignored, or forgotten. Nor are there studies which effectively combine the two approaches; for example, the differences in training and *habitus* of sociologists and linguists have not been exploited. Goffman (1971, xvi) summarized the advantages and limitations of the *habitus* of linguists: "In contemporary social science, the only students as a group who seem to have the capacity to study the small behaviors of their own society and to treat the conduct of their own objectively are linguists, the traditional drawback of these scholars for my concerns being their relatively narrowness of theirs. They are strong on supplying methodological inspiration but weak in regard to content."

So there is a void, which expresses itself above all in the almost total absence of contrastive and sociolinguistic studies of social, generational, functional and, especially, gender varieties in Catalan. Technical varieties and the area of language contact are the only exceptions to this trend, which, curiously enough, conflicts starkly with the vitality of the controversies surrounding models of the language (of a Catalan that is hardly described anywhere!). Studies of pragmatics and discourse analysis have flourished, encouraged above all by educational experiences, and although production is still small, it seems to be taking shape inside lines of research that are increasingly stable and consistent. As a preliminary exploration of the diversification of the research, a look at the two volumes of Ammon et al. (eds.) (1987-1988) will shed light on many of the problems and questions that Catalan sociolinguistics and pragmatics have not yet confronted.

Complementing this image there is also a sociolinguistics that is in general more *engagé* than empirical or descriptive (cf. Argente 1990

and Grossmann (coord.) 1992), with an inclination towards, again in the words of Hudson (1980), an "*armchair sociolinguistics*." On occasion this tendency also leads towards a preference for a certain theorization (only rarely containing much theoretical coherence) which may overlook the more applied aspects and in general only encourage studies that are only really sociolinguistic in name or in intention.

### 3.2. UNDISCIPLINED, AND IN NEED OF AXIOLOGICAL AND EPISTEMOLOGICAL SUPERVISION

There is a need for theoretical and empirical work with more substance, and, as far as the authors and schools that it takes as its models are concerned, a greater breadth of vision. The Anglo-US tradition has tended to be dominant in the most recent orientations. The conditions in which many sociolinguists and pragmatists are trained and organized – until recently, essentially within the field of philology – has a great deal to do with these problems.

We have seen how the study of language use in Catalan-speaking areas still creates problems, which with time have become firmly entrenched. Bernardó ([4.1] 1990) and Ninyoles (Ninyoles 1990a, 1990b, 1990c), have produced excellent summaries of them. There is still a vast amount of data on sociolinguistic use, but few ideas of how to understand it. There are no channels through which to organize this research – which is the way to understand it. There is a sensation of confusion ([4.1] Pitarch 1994a), magnified when there are no mechanisms of axiological and epistemological supervision.

On the one hand, although specialists have claimed to be aware of this situation, (cf. DGPL (ed.) 1991a), their awareness is not acute enough; nor is there sufficient axiological supervision in a large number of articles that come under the heading of sociolinguistics. There is no clear differentiation between the practical or militant implications of the work of sociolinguists and its theoretical coherence and innovation, when in fact criteria for evaluation should be kept apart. Sociolinguistics is disseminated as if it were essentially just an instrument of mobilization. The well-known *The politician and the scientist* by Max Weber should be required reading for a number of sociolinguists in the Catalan-speaking areas.

Furthermore, there is insufficient epistemological supervision of research procedures, methods and methodologies. Even when the need for axiological neutrality is recognized, this supervision of values is not accompanied by "epistemological" supervision. Bourdieu et al. (1976, 6)



was right to recall that "due to a displacement effect, an interest in ethical assumptions and values or ultimate ends takes us away from the critical examination of the theory of sociological knowledge that is involved in its most elementary practices." It is not enough that researchers should try to act independently of their own interests or ideologies; attention must be paid to the very construction of knowledge. This greater control of the values and procedures in research is required in any science, and is even more important in sociolinguistics, because of the interest of both the population and the public administration, because of the country's demography, and because sociolinguistics and pragmatics are interstitial fields. For example, publications labelled as "sociolinguistic" are still in considerable demand in the Catalan-language publishing market, due to the linguistic loyalty of a large part of the population. A "sociolinguistic" text does not run the risk – so common in academic circles – of becoming a string of answers without any questions. Nonetheless, by responding to open controversies, these publications have a negative effect. The lack of criticism is all the more problematic because the abundance of "debates on the language," either banal or contingent on particular political situations in which there are diverse or even contradictory diagnoses of the same reality, stresses the need to provide the non-specialist reader with some points of orientation. There are more than enough external stimuli, symbolic hyperevaluation and reactions to previous criticisms: there should also be a critique that evaluates and takes stock, able to make discriminate use of the bibliography on language use, and avoids the separation into "us" and "them." Certain spontaneous conceptions of Catalan nationalism, in search of a perception of unity against the outside, foster this kind of separation, this demand for adhesion to some sentiment of what is ours.

Studies often include too many variables, or variables which by their nature become unmanageable; while "literary" sociolinguistics predominate, there is little preoccupation with methodology and few explanatory theories are constructed. From a situation in which two disciplines were ignorant of each other, we have passed on to one in which excessive enthusiasm gives rise to uncontrolled borrowing and lending. Either that, or both things happen at once. Aracil (1988, 54) solemnly defined the shortcomings and the virtues of a sociolinguistics created without a central theory, like an American donut: "the interstices are usually refuse dumps. But it would be a disaster if the worst elements discredited the best ones. The truth is that the turbulent periphery unites backward ineptitudes and *innovatory talents*. So we need to sieve through the options to find issues of



substance, which will be the focus of problematical itineraries and points of encounter."

There is as yet an insufficient internal criticism of sociolinguistic materials – i.e., mutual scientific evaluation by specialists of their colleagues in the field: often, to impartial observers, research studies resemble the black boxes of aeroplanes, because the methodology is not described in sufficient detail. Too often journalistic criticism fails to go beyond superficial commentaries of the work. We need to promote the points of encounter mentioned above via authentic debates between the different groups of Catalan sociolinguists – all with procedures and traditions of their own.

One prerequisite is that those who call themselves (Catalan) sociolinguists should share motivations and assumptions. We must abandon the lack of explicitness – the concept of "you know what I mean" which so often characterizes the Catalan social world – and construct new common territories for a reflective sociolinguistics and pragmatics, aware of their shortcomings and their virtues.

There are a number of recent texts and proposals which could form the basis of these confluences and coordinated itineraries in sociolinguistic research. Vicent Salvador (1984), in the field of discourse analysis, offered a clear outline of the these developments in an integrated research program some years ago. For research programs of this kind to flourish, we need to coordinate practical and theoretical contributions from different orientations, so as to identify priorities and serious scientific content. In the field of sociology, we note the spread in Catalan of qualitative orientations that pay great attention to language use and call for a greater theoretical and methodological awareness (Bourdieu and Wacquant 1994). The well-founded criticisms of the surveys by Cardús and Estruch (1984), are reflected in the improvements in later surveys (sociolinguistic surveys as well). We hope that these developments will be the key to dialogue, interconnection and mutual aid – so often called for, so rarely heeded – between (socio)linguistics and the other social sciences.

### 3.3. DYNAMIC, RECEPTIVE TO OUTSIDE INFLUENCES, AND WITH A RELATIVELY LOW OUTPUT FOR EXPORT

Catalan sociolinguistics follows international developments in the field with enthusiasm and dynamism. Nonetheless, the relationship with other countries – above all with the dominant movements in sociolinguistics in English-speaking countries and France, and to some extent as well with other European countries – is one-directional, as

only a tiny proportion of the studies written in Catalan reach a foreign audience, in spite of the fact that many of them may be of interest. The Catalan situation is like a captive economic market, one that does not intervene in international markets. If this situation persists, there is a real risk of indiscriminate copying of foreign models and experiences. The weaker the internal organization of the "practitioners" of sociolinguistics (cf. point 2), the less likely it will be to assimilate outside influences and to adapt to local needs. In the words of Aracil (1980, 32) speaking to a Galician audience on the subject of linguistic planning: "Non fai falta que o plano de Santiago [the capital of Galicia] sexa *made in USA*, e ademais tampoco convén." (It is not necessary that the Santiago plan should be made in the USA, nor is it advisable).

### 3.4. THE CHALLENGES OF SOCIOLINGUISTICS AND PRAGMATICS

The development of the Catalan-speaking areas and the development of sociolinguistics itself, as Viana (1995, 37) states, has meant an increase in the awareness of language use in the society as a whole. In spite of ups and downs, this awareness has been reflected in the problems and interests that have arisen from the contact between Catalan and the dominant languages which have surrounded and intervened in the community that speaks it.

This local experience must be expanded and built on. First, sociolinguistics and pragmatics must continue to serve the needs of the society. This "service," however, is not very clear-cut. We think that these disciplines should continue to work "starting from socially relevant questions and trying to answer them, albeit without those too highly pitched expectations regarding direct applicability which were so characteristic of the early years of the discipline" (Giesbers 1985, 10). So far one pressing need is to provide elements to ensure that the language that has been historically the country's principal language should no longer be, so to speak, merely a historical language. In large parts of the Catalan-speaking areas the process of implanting Catalan is *already* winning the battle. Nonetheless, we must build on this linguistic awareness and ensure that, by an effect of displacement, it is reflected in the research into a wide range of aspects of language use: linguistic non-discrimination, gate-keeping encounters in the health services, courts and teaching, communication in business, and intergenerational communication. A more cohesive development of Catalan sociolinguistics and pragmatics Catalans cannot overlook the more vulnerable sections that we have noted in this review.

An evolution of this kind would also contribute to the

normalization of the language, and would be of benefit not only to Catalan (and international) sociolinguistics but also to the general reviews of descriptive linguistics and applied Catalan linguistics. Catalan society must capitalize on its knowledge in order to compete internationally, and sociological knowledge is one particular body of knowledge. Already, in the fields of linguistic immersion and linguistic legislation, for example, Catalan experiences have been published abroad or work in coordination with projects in other countries. Catalonia participates in European projects (working groups on "talk-shows," the European code-switching network, the Euromosaic project, etc.). If Catalan sociolinguistics can organize itself (that is to say, if it can set up training programs in the field inside the university system and implement axiological and epistemological supervision of its research) it will be able to participate—and not simply in a receptive sense—in international networks. In the field of business communication (via stylistic manuals), in terminology, in linguistic engineering (above all in the management of multilingualism), there is already a growing internationalization, in which (because of a lack of resources of our own, and because of our collective interest) we have no option but to intervene.

We hope that this bibliographical review may be of guidance to readers in their assessment of recent trends in sociolinguistics and pragmatics relevant to the Catalan-speaking areas. In the diversity of its almost seven hundred bibliographical references, we are confident that it will be the signs of dynamism, rather than the signs of paralysis, that will stand out. Competition and conflicting visions between sociolinguists and pragmatists from university centres and opinion groups should not present an obstacle for the organization of forums of discussion and coordination as common mechanisms of epistemological supervision. It was once stated that Catalan sociolinguistics initially represented an epistemological rupture, born as it was inside a collective process of cultura and action during the seventies. The Catalan-speaking areas have also been described as "the largest linguistic planning laboratory in Europe." All this sociolinguistic awareness and work must be capitalized on as a collective resource.

As a well-known Catalan biologist wrote once, "en definitiva, se trata de ser solvente más que de aspirar a explicarlo. No 'som els millors'. Pero podemos llegar a contarnos entre los mejores si luchamos contra nuestras propias limitaciones" (Folch 1992). To paraphrase Aracil (1988,50), their principal instigator, Catalan sociolinguistics and pragmatics were, in their beginnings, "deficient because they were incipient." Now they are no longer incipient



disciplines in the Catalan speaking domain. The Catalan-speaking areas are not in the forefront of research into genetics or outer space, but in research in the social and human sciences, they could be pioneers in sociolinguistics and pragmatics. This is indeed one of the country's "specializations," and one that we should build on, both inside our society and outside.

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<sup>1</sup> [in CDS] means that an unpublished text is available in the Centre de Documentació of the Institut de Sociolingüística Catalana (Direcció General de Política Lingüística de la Generalitat de Catalunya, Carrer de Mallorca 272, 1r, 08037 Barcelona; E-mail: A00119 @ Servicom-Es).



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